5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
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bed of a watercourse. As the season advances, and the water recedes, they either dig after it or search for a lower level. Wells of 30 to 40 feet are very common. The water is reached by a staircase cut in the sand with an easy incline. Wells are easily distinguishable from a distance by the water-troughs, hollowed out of divi-divi trees, and called canoas. These are of the most distorted and grotesque shapes, and serve to water the herd. This is very hard work for the poor Indians during the summer months, and usually employs the whole day. Water from wells if taken early in the morning is always clear and cool. When bathing at a well the Indian uses a canoa; if he stops to drink, a bath invariably follows. Every well has a canoa, and the country is perforated by them like a mining camp. The wells of Chimare are phenomenal; dug out on the sea-shore, on a narrow strip of sand 100 yards in breadth, with the sea on one side and the salt-pans of Chimare, with layers of salt many feet thick, on the other, the water is, notwithstanding, perfectly fresh. There are seven holes about 10 feet deep. I may mention that Pairahi is the name of a celebrated well dug in the river that drains the eastern flank of Ipuana. It means "salt," probably because the water is brackish.

Second in importance are the water-tanks or cisterns. These are sometimes natural, as a small lake at the foot of Ipuana and the cisterns of Cojoa, filtrations from the river Nalua, forming a large lake in the rainy season and many small dirty pools in summer, but nature aided by art is the rule. Some are immense undertakings, and large sheets of water, calculated to last a summer though if not too severe; such as Ariapi, the cisterns of Puerto Estrella, a large ornament-shaped piece of water of about a quarter of a square mile. The water of these cisterns is always muddy and filthy for drinking purposes. The herds are driven in, and every Indian that passes is sure to bathe, so that in time almost a skin of grease forms on the top; and yet in places where they are it is the only water to be had, truly must and drink combined.

The Goajira coast abounds in harbours and bays, but none of much importance. Between Rio Hacha and Cabo de la Vela, in the extensive bay formed by the latter, anchorage is found almost all along the coast. Numerous coasters have become known through the commerce with the Indians, and quite a large trade is carried on in the small coasting schooners. Further along the coast are three large bays. The first, or Portete, is a large bay, well protected from the easterly trades, and is certainly the best port along the coast. Unfortunately the entrance is narrow, intricate, and with shoals. The next, Rubio Hondo, is almost a complete oval, some eight miles long by three miles broad, and with an entrance of nearly three miles broad. It is separated from the sea by a stone wall from 60 to 90 feet at the highest, but not enough to prevent the bay from the strong easterly winds that blow with such force here. It makes but a poor harbour, the surf inside during the afternoons pre-

S: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
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579 been completely tamed by the Venezuelans. He, with of course his
648 followers, have found honesty the best policy after all, and are now
reformed and peaceful members of society, returned to tending and
agriculture. This shows what can be done with firmness combined
with a little judicious tact and management.

342 The Indians build no elaborate dwelling-houses. Their best ranchos
are simple, and constructed in a short time. The roof is covered with
the split woody core of a tall euphorbia. This makes a good and roof,
impermeable to water and easily removed when the family flits. The
[519] rancho is seldom used for sleeping purposes; for this numerous poles
(t-kayat) are firmly fixed all over the place for swinging hammocks,
often three and four to one pole, and crossing each other. Sometimes
two and three sleep in a hammock. Further off other poles (palimaho)
● [417] are found, to tie animals up at, and a small corral or sheep-pen for the
goats and sheep is also indispensible in every well-regulated family.
941 The site of a rancho is always carefully chosen, much strategy being
621 displayed in locating the whole, so that each rancho covers the other
without itself being seen. Although villages are never attempted, yet
a family rarely lives isolated. Everybody isolates himself with that
laughter of Goajira society, his relations. Their ranchos are always
within gunshot distance, so as mutually to defend each other. One is
[712] invariably on high ground to dominate the country, the rest are hidden
away in nooks and corners where least expected. If one rancho is seen,
others are close at hand. In case of attack, this system prevents a whole
family being exterminated. One or two ranchos may be taken, but the
rest escape or fly to the rescue, as the case may be. At all events the
[552] savages, no doubt to the Indian, survives. Each rancho has a distinct
[423] name. Besides, every Indian who is anybody has several ranchos
spread over the country. To collect the census of the ranchos would
103 be paramount to taking a census of the territory. The following are
443 well-known ranchos, with usually some half-caste from Riohacha
592 trading with the Indians. In the Macuira range, six miles from Punta
621 Espada, is Guarrejá, at the foot of Aca-ura; chief, Calijuna, a Jirara.
Westwards, close to the sea-shore, Chiarumar; chief, José Agustin, a
Jallerá, a half-caste speaking good Spanish. At the foot of Arajura,
Negrajá, situated on a slight eminence eight miles from the sea, and
is an important trading station. Pueblero, native name of Puerto
Estrella, boasts twelve houses and three large warehouses, with always
two or three Riohachans resident there. The chief, Pedro Quinto, is
Epiayu, but his sister Mauricia is the virtual ruler. Inland, 16 miles
from Punta Gallina or Taroa is Mororay, another large trading station,
usually with two or three Riohachans established there. The eight
ranchos are well located on a plain between Montes and Puraché. The
chief, Seiyu, is Epiayu. This is one of the most central stations in the
Goajira, and is surrounded by several important places; it is probably

?:Bellinder T-5 (1926, 1955) 1957
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And her eyes shone at the recollection of the now forbidden pleasures of her girlhood.

When I went on trips in the surrounding country I usually had Francisco with me and often my wife. Anita had then to be ready to feed us when we came home, whether it were the same day, or the next, or three days later. In such things Indian women have patience. They know how to wait, and they are never surprised.

We began our exploration of the brown hills and green valleys of Manaure with a long trip on foot. Laboriously we waded through the fine sand. This is almost firm when it is damp, but it was then the dry season and the sand was loose. We were going to visit relatives of Francisco, simple people, but not actually poor. To us who had already had a certain amount to do with Indians, it was a surprise to find ourselves dealing in such categories as 'rich', 'poor', 'well-to-do', etc., just as though we were concerned with white people. Among all other Indians the difference in economic status between individuals had been relatively insignificant, as, presumably, it had been among the Guajiro before they took to herding cattle.

The Indians we were to visit lived in a beautiful place, just on the fringe of a wooded valley between purple brown heights, with the peak of Inshor dominating the landscape. The valley was like a green Bengal fire against its parched background. There were two huts, built of cactus wood and with roofs of the same material. They were saddle-backed and linked by a wall, which acted as a shield against the wind, that there always blows in the same direction. In front of this wall, that is between the two houses, were the fires. Round about were shelves covered with grass and erected on four poles. The Creoles call these *ranas*. You can sit under them and be out of the sun, and cooking utensils and stores can be kept on them out of reach of animals. Here and there were hammocks stretched between poles stuck in the ground, and there were other poles used in the all but daily butchering of a goat or sheep. Round these there were dark patches on the ground.

Having Francisco with us we were naturally well re-

?Bellinder T-5 (1926, 1998) 1957
BC23 Goujiro BC23

890

Indians with a white man
near the Centro Hills

123
241

The white man's dangerous
magic the phonograph

Bakairi Indian camp with
canoe [illegible]

241
917

[facing p. 194]

422

/46 cont./

giving him a portion that is larger and better than the others, which is grumbled at and envied by the rest. When there are numerous daughters and only one boy in the family, he is the favored one and, in the absence of the father, is served in his place on the dishes the father customarily uses for his food and is served first as is done with /47/ the latter. When there are several sons these privileges go to the eldest. When food is scarce the elders are the first to get it, and whatever remains is divided among the children of middle years. The same occurs when there are special dishes, which the children may occasionally taste if the father or uncle gives them some. But usually there is not enough for the child; when he grows up and is a man he will have his share of these special dishes. This makes the boys envious, and they will snatch whatever one of them may receive, or the eldest will leave the smallest without food after having eaten his share as quickly as possible, and it also explains the theft of food and provisions in spite of the punishments inflicted by the mother, which have been enumerated in another section.

Should the child have a noticeable liking for a certain kind of food, the mother indulges him when possible, giving him a larger portion of it, but this behavior cannot always be repeated as the boy must learn to eat everything, as it is not possible for him to be allowed to eat just the food he considers most appetizing. Furthermore, each child has his own dishes and cutlery for eating, such as gourd plates and spoons, etc., which he recognizes and insists on being served from. These articles are usually their private property.

The child of middle years shares fully in adult food by gradual change from his infant diet after weaning and by the adequate rationing of his new foods, so that his organism becomes accustomed to them and more readily assimilates them. First of all, the mother's milk is replaced by goat's milk and later by thin mazamorra prepared with a little milk, until he gets only this. They gradually feed him the various kinds of

1:Gutierrez de Pineda--112 8-8 (1947) 1950 9C13 Goajiro 9C13

/89 cont./

583 They also send a part to the most friendly neighbors who have marriageable daughters, because they hope that when one of these marries the present will be amply repaid. It is customary when they are distributing the marriage payment, if they have friends who have no daughters, for them to send them nothing, because they say: "Those people have no daughters and so they will never be able to return our gift."

The goods obtained from the sale of the other daughters who marry go to the maternal patrimony, although, as we have seen, the bridegroom's relatives participate because a goat or a sheep is presented to each of the women who intervene in the handing over of the animals. The necklaces which are given on betrothal are for the girl's mother, who in /90/ turn must supply one to each of her sons when they become engaged to be married.

Moreover, there is a special payment which is always made to the mother of the bride, and this is for the matrimonial hammock made by her. Generally, the price is ten cows in rich families, and when this payment is made, which is done personally by the bridegroom to his mother-in-law, it signifies that he is going to take possession of the woman he has bought; and she is then indirectly handed over to him, since the place (a neighboring room) is pointed out where he will find the hammock and the woman who will be his wife. This payment gives him the right to the conjugal bed and to cohabit with the woman whom he has bought and must be paid to the mother, partly because she made the hammock and partly because she brought up her daughter, bearing all the costs of rearing her and educating her. No one else shares in this amount.

When a female bond servant or slave is getting married, the product of the sale goes to her master exclusively, without having to be shared with anyone, firs because the price is low, and second because the ownership of a slave or a bond servant is individual.

When the marriage payment has been arranged to be paid in installments and the second of these is not forthcoming in the

/173 cont./
animal, or the reverse, etc., according to the nature and the particular details of the dream.

* * *

2. We find the origin of clan marks also commented in the preceding narratives. Every group of individuals with the same name living in the same place had the problem of distinguishing their animals from there near by or at a distance. Moreover did not want this invention to give rise to problems. Along with each group of animals, he gave the corresponding name and representative animal and the property mark, which he engraved on a stone. At the present time they still recognize the generic mark of each caste used to brand the animals and /mark/ the individuals belonging to it. Nevertheless, a variation of this original idea is to be found. Clan marks are degenerating into family marks, and in a process even further advanced we find individual marks, constituted sometimes by a special sign or by the owner's initials branded by a hot iron on some visible part of the body of the animal, or a special cut or nick in the ears of sheep or goats. Tattooing the clan mark on individuals is becoming more and more rare, it is more common in the lower than in the higher classes, and among the less accultured than among those brought into contact with whites. Regional and family variations are found in the same clan. The clan mark persists in some localities but as an adornment, a "luxury," as they say when questioned. To this end they replace the totem by a schematic figure of the animal, and among the mentions, by the initial of the name. The parts of the body where these marks are generally incised are the upper part of the thigh on men, and the upper surface of the forearm on women.

Sometimes they still place the totem mark of the clan on objects of domestic use, (gourds, pottery, bags). But this practice is not very common. At the present time, articles of

/174 cont./

personal property are marked with letters, especially such items as clay and gourd vessels and parts of the harness of riding animals and their hammocks /chinchurros and hamacas/.

3. Naming. According to mythology, every clan had its personal name given to it by Maleiwa directly or was inspired by him. It covers all the individuals belonging to the same clan and is the indication of blood relationship. Clan disintegration at the present time has made it necessary to add to this generic name the name of the locality and the name of the most outstanding family head (cacique).

At the present time a Guajiro individual feels that in spite of being linked to another by an identical name he is not a relative /of that person/, and he makes a distinction within the same clan of diverse groups with more or less prestige. However, at a time when attacked by another group, they may make /175/ common cause if their co-operation is needed. Furthermore, the introduction of the Catholic marriage has given equal value to naming by using the personal surname followed by the maternal surname, although in a saga of transition the weight of these has greater value.

* * *

4. Consanguinity. Consanguinity plays an important role in the Guajiro concept of kinship, which embraces all individuals joined in a chain through common female ascendents, that is, uterine kinship. In this way they set aside the paternal branch, which may be found in opposition and enmity, because in the Guajiro mentality the father--as biological bond, although it exists, does not count in determining kinship. The common tie that embraces all the individuals of a clan is the mother's blood in the biological act and in the process of gestation. From this premise the Guajiro derives the importance of the spilling of blood through themselves or outsiders, because it represents the destruction of the kinship tie and of the vital element. This valuation is the surrounding concept in the regimen for social stability in the culture.

[30 cont.]

F756 for his services as a curer; the flesh of animals sacrificed during
262 anyone's wake or during the ceremony of the second burial, especially if it is the remains of a shaman which are to be exhumed; ordinary food during the days on which he is carrying out his profession when he should limit himself to a small portion of corn masamorro [cooked crushed corn] and water. Hence, the cattle
F[823] he receives at his spirit's request in exchange for his cures are used in an indirect manner, being kept for breeding purposes.

171 We also find that the food taboo among shamans is characteristic among the Cashinawa Indians, according to the text
262 published by Capistrano de Abreu and cited by Métraux. According
F756 to them the souls (spirits) say to the initiate: "I have inoculated you with the magic substance. Do not, therefore, eat carelessly any sort of nourishment or you will lose your magic power (feitico). Eat sparingly. Drink soup, eat cooked bananas and fish. Eat nothing but that!"

They say: "When you do not eat [sic]. Do not eat the tapir, do not eat the deer, do not eat the peccary, do not eat jaguar, do not eat nambú, do not eat the jacau, do not eat the cujubim, do not eat the coati, do not eat the guariba, do not eat the monkey. These are the foods that you may not eat. If you do eat them [31] we will kill you, say the spirits. Among vegetables do not eat sweet potatoes, sweet manioc, or the ajonjoli." (32) [Cited in French.]

31. Métraux. Op. cit., I, 204.

F756 So far as the other objects that the shaman receives as pay-
262 ment for his work, neither may he use these directly. He simply keeps them, or he gives them to his children [hijos] as he does
F[823] with the cattle. These objects, if they are not handed over while he is alive, will be divided up after his death among his heirs in accordance with Goajiro customary law....

F756 Death of a shaman. When a shaman becomes ill he has to
265 call in a colleague to practice on him all the ceremonies and rites indispensable for fending off the illness, since curers have the power to cure others but are not able to cure themselves.

[105 cont.]

The owners of this idol — that no one is allowed to look at — keep it jealously guarded in a coffer, from which no one can withdraw it. With it they carry out on certain occasions some curious rituals such as carefully washing it and then exposing it to the sun's rays. When the summers are harsh and long, they bathe the idol, which they say makes it happy, and they then can ask it to send rain.

The small number of these little idols and the ignorance of the natives regarding their origin makes us believe that they are a foreign element, at least with regard to formal representation, which we consider to be the product of acculturation. The possibility that these objects have come from the ancient Arhuaco is also very remote, as we have found no trace in the literature dealing with this group of anything similar to such small idols.

Moreover, objects of gold are so few that at present they are restricted to necklaces, which are highly esteemed and inherited through the maternal line. But it appears that previously there were other golden ornaments other than the necklaces, as Ensign José Nicolás de la Rosa affirms that on a certain occasion "all the population of Río de la Hacha went to war against them, and the struggle was so fierce and bloody that the Guajiro asked for a truce, offering never again to act so treacherously toward the subjects of the King of Spain, and as a sign of this intention and as compensation for the death of Tomás (Quintero), they delivered to his Majesty [106] a two-headed golden eagle, the jewel being deposited as a hostage to assure the keeping of the peace in the Royal Treasury." (62)

62. De la Rosa, José Nicolás. Floresta de la Santa Iglesia Catedral de Santa Marta [Treasures of the St. Marta Cathedral], 2d., IV, 213.

Up to now we have not been able to discover the historic value of the small idol called guará or guale, and we continue to incline toward our first opinion that it is a product of acculturation.

[129 cont.]

526 this moment the owner of the goats arrives to look over his flock,
535 and he states in his song that none of his animals are missing,
796 they are fat because pasture is fresh and abundant, and he an-
831 nounces that he is about to mark them. He starts by taking out
each female goat one by one and pretends to cut its ear, which
[420] is the way to mark such animals. He keeps up his song, referring
to what he is doing. "I have many goats and now I shall lack
neither meat nor milk; I am rich...."

e) We would add to the above the fact that Indian girls of
[554] the wealthy class do not take part in these gatherings, or they
796 do so on very rare occasions, as their prestige [130] would
786 diminish seriously in consequence of the opinion held of the fiesta
that only those girls go to it who want to get a husband readily
or to satisfy their sexual urges. Besides, it is the obligation of
each man to flirt with or treat with familiarity the girl who be-
comes his partner in the dance, and her obligation is to supply
him during the dance with roasted corn, bread, meat, chicha, etc.

Summarizing up to this point, we can state that the Dance of the Kid is a festival in which the Guajiro Indians seek to propitiate the rains at the same time that it celebrates their arrival and fecundity: fecundity in fruits; fecundity in animals, as dramatized in the ceremonies just described; and fecundity among men, in human beings, who are free from the restrictions which are imposed on them by the community in ordinary daily life to maintain social order.

• • •

536 Theatrical representations. "Drama is particularly difficult to classify because so often it gets mixed up with religion.... On the other hand, dramatic scenes can be executed for collective entertainment or as farces with no special pretentions, as for example in a Tahitian pantomime which represents the theft of a basket of food from a sleeping servant; although it can occur, on occasion, that these simple and uncertain experiments develop into real dramas." (65)

65. Lowie. Antropología Cultural [Cultural Anthropology], XI, 194-195.

6: Santa Cruz E-5 (1940) 1941
SC13 Goajiro SC13

RECIPROCAL RELATIONS OF MATERNAL UNCLE AND NEPHEW

604 The general attitude of the maternal uncle toward his nephew is one of giving; and that of the nephew, one of receiving.

428 607 183 431 Let us first deal with inheritance. Theoretically, the rule is that the maternal uncle must leave all of his property, both personal and in the form of cattle, to his oldest sister's oldest son. All his other nephews,—other sons of the same sister or sons of other sisters,—are left out of the inheritance. This is the rule. However, in practice it seldom works, as the maternal uncle during his life continues to transfer his property in the form of gifts to his own male children, so that at the time of his death there is nothing, or very little, left of his property to be inherited by his nephew, unless the uncle is a very rich man. Only among the wealthy class has the uncle always something left to bequeath to his nephew. For this he does not need a will as it falls within the prescribed rule mentioned above. The following cases are illustrative.

428 431 604 Ilaro is the oldest son of a man named Rafael living at Uribia, and, like his mother, belongs to the Arpushaina sib. Ilaro's mother is the elder of the two sisters of Calleja, who in turn is the oldest of five siblings,—two sisters and three brothers. Thus Ilaro, his mother, and his uncle Calleja are all seniors. Calleja is not looked upon as a rich man, although he is well [556] fixed and belongs to the middle class. Ilaro, however, does not expect much, if any, inheritance from his uncle and is aware [234] that the latter has been transferring most of his cattle,—the most valuable possession in Guajiro eyes,—in the form of gifts to his own sons. The writer visited Ilaro's uncle who lives [422] nearby and saw the cattle already branded with his son's personal brand. Ilaro is not at all concerned about the property of his other uncles as their property will pass automatically to their own children.

This next case illustrates a different situation. Pacheco is a very rich man who lives in Carraipia. He has a nephew,—the senior maternal nephew,—who lives there also. Pacheco has a son of his own and the present writer observed that some of Pacheco's cattle have already been branded for his son, but

7:Bolinder T-5 (1820, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

Later that day we reached the coast at Castilletes. It was desert country there, dreary, full of sand-dunes and furrowed with salt water channels. There we came across an emaciated horse, a poor brute that had obviously strayed and was now desperately looking for water and grazing that did not exist. It stopped and drank sea-water. It must have been dying, and the kindest thing would have been to shoot it, but that could have cost us dear. The owner would have demanded unreasonable compensation. Instead, the Indians went to see what clan mark it had, so that they could report to their fellows in Castilletes. News spreads quickly among the Indians. The owner would not have much joy of his horse, for the hide could not be worth much, but he would learn where it was to be found.

Francisco got us to Castilletes easily. He had been there often before, even once on our behalf—to fetch gold, literally, for we were expecting a transfer of money from Caracas and it came in the form of gold, American, Venezuelan and Colombian gold and silver coinage circulated in Guajira, but the Indians would have nothing to do with notes.

There was, of course, a certain risk in conveying several hundred gold coins through Guajira from a slave-port like Castilletes, where there were plenty of shady characters. The money, however, was packed in boxes made for photographic plates and the same schooner from Maracaibo brought some packages for the monks, to whom our money was also addressed. The boxes interested neither Customs nor others. Francisco rode a wretched horse and had dressed in his worst jacket and a pair of indecently ragged trousers, so that he did not look as though he were carrying large sums on him, while his horse would not have tempted any thief. Thus, all had gone well, Francisco had not been nervous, though we had.

Castilletes was the only place on the south coast where white people lived and to which whites frequently came. Schooners from Venezuela put in there. The frontier between Colombia and Venezuela ran between the houses, of which there were about a dozen in those days. The sur-

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
SC13 Goajiro SC13

the chief game. The *Goajiro* who live near the coast sometimes catch 22
fish (with hook and line), lobsters, mollusks, and crabs.

Cattle raising.—The *Goajiro* are primarily nomadic cattle raisers and, 231
consequently, depend upon the water supply. In the rainy season they 231
seek natural depressions, which they sometimes enlarge artificially, where [942]
the water may gather. In case of drought they wander toward the sea, where wells 30 to 40 feet (9 to 12 m.) deep are dug.

Besides cattle the *Goajiro* keep sheep, goats, horses (pl. 72, bottom, 231
left), mules, pigs, and domestic fowls, which they take with them wherever they go. An estimate gives them 100,000 cattle, 200,000 sheep and goats, 30,000 horses and mules, and 30,000 donkeys. As cattle are a measure [941]
of wealth, the Indians are reluctant to kill them for food, but they utilize [940]
the milk or export the animals to Curaçao and Aruba in exchange for [942]
textiles and corn. Each tribe has its own cattle brand, and the annual round-up and branding is an occasion for great festivities. Horse races [947]
and other sports take place, and large quantities of food and drink are consumed.

Food preparation.—*Goajiro* diet consists almost entirely of meat and 252
milk products. Goats and sheep are killed every day or two for meat, 252
and the milk of the cows is made into butter and cheese. This diet is supplemented by yuca, cactus fruit, sugar, rice, and plantains, the last three obtained from Colombian and Venezuelan traders in exchange for skins. Meat that is not immediately consumed is suspended from tall poles, and skins are pegged to the ground and salted in preparation for sale. Butter is made by stirring the cream with a flutist stick in a calabash or wooden bucket. To make cheese, rennet is added to skimmed milk in a trough, and the curds are put in a primitive wooden cheese press, which is weighted with a heavy rock.

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

Although the *Goajiro* are of a common origin, they are divided into 4[9]
alie ("castes" or "tribes"), each living within a rather limited area [8]
(Simons, 1885, p. 796). The alie are split into local groups, which occupy extended villages or rancherías, each with 2 to 30 houses (ranchos) and 10 to 250 or more Indians. Houses are always within gunshot distance of one another and so disposed that surprise attacks would be difficult. If a village is at all permanent, a protective cactus hedge surrounds it.

Goajiro nomadism makes elaborate houses unnecessary. Dwellings 3[9]2
are mere lean-tos, arbors, and temporary gabled roofs supported on poles. Thatch is made from the core of the cactus, split lengthwise. Rough [954]
tables, chairs with rawhide seats, and benches are often used. The hammock is always present. House walls are often lacking, but a corner [951]
of the hut may be closed off for a girl's puberty seclusion. When mi-

Chiefs are polygynous and have many daughters, for
whom very high bride prices are paid—sometimes thousands of animals,
worth $6,000 to $10,000. Such rich chiefs take great pride in their
daughters, dressing them in fine silken robes and necklaces of gold and
pearls and providing them with personal servants.

There is a class of slaves who are beneath the chiefs' retainers in the social hierarchy. It consists of people born into this status and of captives.

PROPERTY

All cattle, though individually owned, belong in theory to the local group as a whole and are watched for the common benefit of all. For example, the cattle paid as a bride price when a girl marries within her own sib go to a new owner, but the milk, butter, cheese, and hides from them continue to be shared by everyone in the sib. When a woman receives cattle as a bride price for her daughter any new stock born to them belongs to the daughter's husband and his sons, and when the animals are rounded up for the annual branding each son is allowed to brand a certain number of them.

ETIQUETTE

The Guajiro are in general unfriendly to strangers but have a well-established code of hospitality. Strangers calling at a house must wait until invited in. Inside a house a bowl of chicha or rum (coffee when available) is the first gift offered the visitor, who is thereafter given a hammock and treated as a member of the family. A special feast may be arranged if there are many guests. A guest of high rank is feasted, and some of the young girls of the house may be placed at his disposal.

LAW AND ORDER

The chiefs have little power outside their own local group, where they settle minor disputes. The solution of many disputes and transgressions of custom are left to the parties concerned. The laws of group responsibility and group retaliation lead to frequent intertribal feuds. A person without a strong sib to protect him is helpless, for others may use any act which may conceivably be interpreted as harmful as pretext for demanding indemnity. For example, a person injured while intoxicated may demand payment from the person who sold him the rum, or a person injured by a borrowed animal may demand payment from the owner of the animal; a thief who hurts himself when trespassing on the property of his intended victim will demand compensation of him; and anyone aiding a sick or wounded person who subsequently dies incurs a liability. If a person injures himself he must make an expiatory gift to the members of his own sib and a lesser gift to his father's relatives. If a child dies when under the care of one parent, this parent must reimburse

/536/cont./

two wives of the influential and intelligent Cacique Francisco (alias Antonio Juan López); from both I was given the assurance that it is known to nearly all of their people. In a subsequent conversation with still other women it became clear that the social and juristic role of the clan system had become simplified and dulled in the course of the centuries up to the present, and above all that the original rigor of its demands had become milder and in part even lost. Certain practices still maintained and various fragments of tradition permit one to piece together an adequately clear picture of the totemistic organization in Guajira, despite many manifestations of mother-right.

Our Indians have a mythological explanation of how the whole Guajiro people was originally divided into many clans (8). Each totem-clan has its individual symbol, comparable

8. Petrullo (p. 155) supplements this by confirming: "Casta [is] the major social grouping in Guajiro society. Each casta claims a mythological origin and holds sovereignty over a well-defined territory" /cited in English/.

to a monogram. Every clan-member marks himself and his personal goods, predominately domestic animals, with it. The Indians paint this symbol with ordinary watercolor on a stone, carve it in wooden objects (plates, style of a mattock, house posts), tattoo it on their arms, etc., all in plain fun and without any serious intention of demonstrating their right of ownership. On the other hand, the same symbol, which is peculiar to a clan, is branded without exception on every domestic animal that the individual clan-member owns. Obviously it is the same sign for all the animals of all the members of a particular clan; yet the animals remain /537/ the personal property of their owner, and the latter himself

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[4] knows precisely which animals belong to him and which 21 property belongs to other clan-members.
231
422 In a way also customary among us (for example, the burning on of the stock-brand for foals), the clan-symbol in Guajira is pressed into the skin of the domestic animal with a branding iron, usually on the rear leg, sometimes on [413] the lower neck. The branding iron is a rod as thick as a finger and about a meter long, on whose lower end the brand, made in iron, is fixed. This is highly heated and briefly set on the skin of the animal with moderate pressure (9).

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251
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9. Everyone knows that many livestock-raising primitive peoples use the method described here for "branding" their domestic animals, and, to be sure, do it primarily with the intention of indicating the individual possessor or a group consisting of several men as the owner. M. Merker (p. 163) reports this for the Masai. H. Field collected more than a thousand such markings (Figs. 24-43) among the Bedouin and related tribes in the Near East. It might seem surprising that individual ones among them are very similar to the brands of the Guajiro. This correspondence, however, can easily be traced back to the mentality of the natives and their undeveloped technical skill, as well as to the brittle wrought-iron itself. The "branding iron" probably goes back to an earlier period of mankind; from its place of invention, it went on its way

/537 cont./

around the world simultaneously with the domestic animals themselves.

The branding described was probably learned by the Indians from the Spaniards themselves, simultaneously with the adoption of the first European domestic animals, and has been retained since then. It is all the more surprising that the branding iron (hierro) appears in an old myth which for its part clearly states where the customary individual clan-signs came from. The following version (according to V. Gutiérrez, p. 168) is common in the northern part of the peninsula:

Not far from Nazareth (10) a hill rises behind Irajoro.

10. This post lies only several kilometers south of Puerto Estrella and is actually a small Catholic mission station. Cf. Stutzer, pp. 131 ff., and Barranquilla, pp. 151 ff.

Here, under an oil tree, Mareigua (11) came into the world.

11. That is the spelling of this mythological name that I felt to be correct, as did V. Gutiérrez (p. 168). Chaves (1946, p. 307) explains in the myth concerning "Las Serranías de la Guajira," among other things: "Mareigua [is] one of the principal deities of the Guajiro people, who with his supernatural power converts persons into hills, separates the

/538 cont./

returned to them. He distributed among them the seeds of the watermelon (Citrullus vulgaris), muicat (Zea), squash, and all the other vegetables with which the Guajiro nourish themselves. Until that time no Guajiro had laid out a seeded field; before that anyone who wished to eat had to search for the fruit that grew by itself. Mareiwa gathered all the pancalargas (thin-legged gallinaceo) and weaver birds; he commanded a flock of them to go far away and feed on iguayayu (cereals) and the fruit of the Indian fig (Opuntia). He likewise summoned a flock of rock pigeons; they brought hopechi cherries. Then he distributed the birds over all of Guajira. With their excrement they were to make the simultaneously eliminated seeds germinate; the latter were to grow and cover the whole land with a blanket of plants on which fruit would ripen and serve the people for food.

Mareiwa handed over to each native man a pair of goats, donkeys, cattle, horses, and pigs. Then he assembled all the people with their animals in the district of Arachi near Siapana. There, on a cliff, he engraved the symbols, one of which he intended to assign to each of the family groups, the children of Boronka. They are still visible today on that cliff.

Thus he established there the sign-patterns for the Epiayú, Ipuana, Uriana, Sapuana, Jayuriyú, Apshana, Síjuana, Urariyú, Epinayú, Jimú, Soriyú, Panayú, Uriyú, Wuriyú, Uremnaka, Marpishana, Uyarayú, Wariwyú, Juayú, Worukoryú, and others. Mareiwa handed over these property marks to the people in order that the movable property of one group would not be mistaken for that of the others.

Each group has its animal-sign by means of which it distinguishes its property from that of the other groups. This happened for the following reason: these animals were to have become Indians. But they are the herds that Mareiwa had assigned to each group. As punishment he left them in their animal state as symbols of the individual groups which

/120 cont./

GH 613 had been resulted in harmed by them. Then, the leader of
613 the black vultures /Cathagra atratus barrowi/ had taken a
713 head of cattle of the Epieyú, and he therefore renounced the
615 symbol for this group. The carrion /Neoxthon taiwan/ de-
923 mained an animal of the Iguana group. The Uriana people
now have as their totem-animal the jaguar (Felis onca). The
Sapuana group claims for itself the alligator /Jaure cuiloa/
(Herbium hispanus mueller), the Jayariyú people the dog, the
Apshana the kite, the Sijuana the wasp, the Uneriyú the
rattlesnake (Crotalus mexicanus), the Jiroú people the fox
(Canis azarae), the Sariyú people the cascabel (macaw, Ara),
the Pasaayú the black wasp, the Uyuriyú the deer (Cervus
elaphus), ect.

GH 713 /120/ V. Cuestawes (p. 170) then presents another myth.
This describes how the individual totem-clans were assigned
their names and definite districts of residence after a fateful,
tragic event of disobedience of the creatures against their
creator took place. This report, too, emphatically brings
out the fact that Maleiwa personally, by his will and authority,
introduced a communistic way of life for the first living beings
in Guajira. The myth has the dramatic conclusion: "For the
last time Maleiwa spoke with them /the totem groups/ in
order to take his leave. He therefore addressed them: It was
my will that you should live here! I am leaving now; I shall
be watching you from heaven."

GH 101 The individual totem-districts with the thirty-four clan
names are noted on the map (14).[1] The appropriate clan-

193 14. The spelling and pronunciation
194 of the clan designations favored here
GH by and large resemble the Spanish
sounds. Young Indians today feel
a marked uncertainty in using the
correct Spanish names for individual
totem-animals; even in the pro-
nunciation of the Guajiro designations

[1] [see p.9.--Arnlyt]